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PREFACE

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● 114 The ethnographic data presented herein were collected for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, on a number of field trips during the years 1925 to 1928; [122] in 1929 and 1930 the work was additionally aided by a fellowship of the National Research Council.

Some of the material then gathered has been published in separate studies, namely, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making (1929), The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California (1930), Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans (1930), and with Stanley S. Newman, Yokuts and Western Mono Myths (1940). Unpublished but accessible data on the use of jimsonweed by the Yokuts and Western Mono are embodied in "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" (Thesis, University of California Library, 1928).

The only original material now remaining in the author's hands are twenty-five or more genealogies and a file of several hundred personal names; these will be combined in a future publication since this already lengthy ethnography could not support addenda.

A valuable addition to my own records is the material on the Chukchansi collected by Miss Barbara Thrall (Mrs. Arthur Wood Rogers) in 1938. On her marriage she generously gave me her field notes to incorporate with my own on Yokuts culture. Mrs. Rogers' material is the result of but two weeks' stay at Coarse Gold, and its richness, for so brief a contact, is a tribute both to her abilities as a budding ethnographer and to the Yokuts as facile informants. A regrettable accident prevented Mrs. Rogers from continuing her work for the length of time she had planned. The myths she recorded will appear in a separate paper by Rogers and Gayton, "Twenty-seven Chukchansi Yokuts Myths (in press)."[1]

The basic picture of Yokuts culture as drawn by Dr. A.L. Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California has remained unchanged by later ethnographic data from the San Joaquin Valley. Rather, the picture has been filled out, the composition has gained balance, and the colors have been heightened by more intimate knowledge of the life depicted. Perspective has been added and depth increased. By means of Dr. Kroeber's initial publications, The Yokuts Language of South Central California, Indian Myths of South Central California, and the ethnographic sketch in his Handbook, a cultural orientation was already provided when I began my field investigations.

I have drawn upon Kroeber's early work and upon Mr. F.F. Latta's little book, Uncle Jeff's

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[1] Since published; see Bibliography.

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PREFACE

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114 Story, to augment my incomplete data on Tachi culture, of which it is impossible to get a full description today. Another addition to my Tachi notes comes from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly gave me his record of Tachi moieties and genealogies.

I am indebted to Dr. Stanley S. Newman for the lively account of a Yokuts war, and to Mr. Donald Scott for the photograph of Yokuts specimens in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

A very valuable contribution to the anthropologist's knowledge of the Yokuts is Dr. Stanley S. Newman's Yokuts Language of California.[2] The archaeology of Valley Yokuts territory, already investigated by Gifford, Schenck, Heizer, and others, has been summarized by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in connection with his own researches at Buena Vista Lake.

A few brief papers from the pen of Mr. George W. Stewart have preserved glimpses of Yokuts life with which he came in contact through his many years of service with the Visalia Land Office. Like Mr. Latta, Mr. Stewart had keen sympathy and respect for the native dwellers in the San Joaquin Valley. One of Mr. Stewart's longer papers and the recent culture element study of Dr. Harold Driver have been examined but not used in the preparation of this ethnography.[3]

Published papers on the Western Mono tribes were few at the time of my field work, chiefly Kroeber's linguistic study, Shoshonean Dialects of California, and Gifford's works on Northfork Mono myths and social organization, "Western Mono Myths" and "Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California."[4a] Since that time Gifford's ethnographic account of the Northfork Mono has appeared, but the scantiness of the data in 1925 is indicated by the brevity of treatment received by the Mono in Kroeber's Handbook.[5]

114 121 A more thorough knowledge of the Western Mono peoples in contact with the Yokuts of the foothills was exigent to a broader understanding of Yokuts culture and therefore, after working with the Wukchumni Yokuts of Kaweah River, I visited their Shoshonean neighbors to the north, the Waksachi. The contact proved too fruitful to abandon after brief interviews and consequently fairly full accounts were got of both Waksachi and Wobonuch life. So com-

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[2]Since published; see Bibliography.

[3]The Yokuts Indians of the Kaweah River Region. Sierra Club Bulletin, 12:385-400, 1927; Culture Element Distributions, VI: Southern Sierra Nevada, UC-AR 1:53-154, 1937. (See Bibliography for explanation of abbreviations.)

[4]JAFL, 36:301-367, 1923; UC-PAAE 11:291-296, 1916.

[5]Handbook of California Indians, 584-589.

PREFACE
[P. iva]

121 pletely had these Western Mono absorbed the culture of the San Joaquin Valley tribes that to separate it from Yokuts for purposes of publication seemed not only artificial but impractical. The result was a somewhat unwieldy mass of material, the sheer bulk of which has been largely responsible for the long delay in preparing it for press.

Even now the record which follows is merely that: a record of ethnographic facts unaugmented by comparative references and unadorned by interpretative conclusions. The random allusions to other cultures often are more remote than immediate, casually calling attention to some ethnic similarity of piquant interest. For those who would completely comprehend the civilizations of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley, two valuable papers on the

[Text continues TOP of P. ivb---Analyst]

Postscript

● 114 Since the above was written, certain changes have taken place. A summary paper, "Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization," largely based on the data herein, has been published (1945), and the materials in the thesis, "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" are being augmented and prepared for publication. Wherever possible, bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

000 The kinship systems originally incorporated herein have been withdrawn and probably will be combined with the genealogies and personal names in a later paper. Kinship systems of several Yokuts and Western Mono

[Text continues Bottom of P. IVb, ---Analyst]

[P. 416] Tachi Chumut

535 517 574 not always have words"; they probably were of the "hai´ya hai´ya" variety. Both sexes joined in the dancing. The women wore eagle-down strings around their hair. The men wore the ceremonial feather skirt (tuhu´n) if they could get one, and painted their faces with stripes [302] or spots of black and white. There were no special paint patterns for this dance.^

No description of the dance steps was obtained, but J.A. made it clear that the dancing was not a group affair. A few men and women would dance at a time, which seems comparable to such pleasure dances as we know from the Wukchumni. There were no names for the dances: they were referred to as plain dance (hu´nai hati´m) or "little dance half the night" (wi´ti hati´m tu´pan toi´no).

[554] Although the chief's house was larger than others, the cooking, eating, and dancing took place outside.

535 616 At another time J.A. made brief reference to a similar affair which she called "plain fandango" (hu´nai lonu´iwis). This involved a moiety division (in eating and dancing?) but it was not reciprocal, i.e., the moieties did not align as host and guest. It was held any time of year. A large meal was eaten, dancing continued all night, in the morning the participants swam, ate breakfast, and dispersed. Paint was worn for this "dance."

Gifford, in his data on Tachi moieties, gives a bit of information which may be pertinent here.

> Two dances in which ... paints were used were mentioned. One of them, called toxeliwiš hatama, was danced by shamans (anču) of the toxelyuwiš moiety. A second dance, called kikitwi, was described as a round dance and was said to have been originated by the nutuwuts moiety. In its performance, however, some tokelyuwiš usually participated with the nutuwuts dancers...
>
> At a feast each moiety prepared and served the food for the opposite moiety. A feast of this sort was held in 1913, two years before my visit.

Tachi Ceremonies

114 The following Tachi information from M.G. seems unsound in large part, no doubt owing to misunderstanding by the interpreters and myself. It is given as recorded. As mentioned above, [766] [152] the mourning ceremony was a distasteful topic and only the least "mournful" parts were spoken of.

756 The Shamans' Contest was known to all the plains people: "Wolasi, Telamni, everyone had heŭwaš." It was performed in the summertime toward the conclusion of a mourning ceremony. A winatum got the doctors together, he got them from Čiau (Kingston, a Nutunutu village) and from the Wechihit. M.G. saw this at Čiau. The Wechihit were on one side and some Wuk-

^[i.e., pleasure dances. - Analyst]

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[P. 49c] Tulamni

TULAMNI

177 114 A unique though brief account of native culture in the extreme south of the San Joaquin Valley is preserved in the records of Pedro Fages, soldier, explorer, and eventually governor in Spanish California.[120] He was the first European known to have entered the San Joaquin Valley officially when, in the fall of 1772, he crossed the head of the valley from Grapevine Cañon westward toward San Luis Obispo. Although no tribal names are mentioned in Fages' account, on the basis of his routing we may assume that his descriptions derive from the Tulamni and perhaps the Hometwali and Yauelmani. The following notes are a condensation of his account.

241 301 Dress.---Men wore a cloak which reached to the waist; some cloaks were made of grouse skins. They bound their hair with strings of beads into which such articles as the antelope-horn tobacco container might be thrust. That men "smeared their heads in the form of the cross ... with white mud," may mean that a mud helmet like that of the Mohave was in vogue, or it may refer to a mere mark. To the chiefs Fages attributes "cloaks adorned with feathers" and "a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own." One suspects a misinterpretation of office here: they were probably ceremonial figures, but because of their elaborate dress were thought to be chiefs. The women dressed like those of San Luis Obispo,[121] which probably means they wore deerskin aprons as well as grass ones. Their hair [354] was banged (toupé) and braided. Babies were wrapped in pelican skins.

342 Houses.---Dwellings were arranged "like a chain" (in rows) with storehouses for food and implements in front of each. But Fages states it somewhat differently in his diary of 1772:

[361] All this plain is very thickly settled with many and large villages....In their

[120] See Bolton, In the San Joaquin ahead of Garcés; Fages, 2, 72-76.

[121] Fages, 49.

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[P. 153 b] Dumna

DUMNA

103 5. huku ˈktuktu: 1/2 mile south of no.
361 6. ka ˈoso: village at Firebaugh where "everyone" used to go for salmon fishing
7. če ˈyao: salmon camp above no. 6
8. če ˈšao: salmon camp above no. 7
9. a ˈtbu: main Dumna village at Millerton

The following were not located: 10, čo ˈˈomtːlao; 11, ya ˈpːkˈnao; 12, yːmšu; 13, ho ˈsuniu; 14, če ˈpnao; 15, tːne ˈlao; 16, kočo ˈyu; 17, tiˈče ˈniu; 18, hogo ˈnːlao; 19, hutu ˈnːlao; 20, ko ˈwačko ˈčo; 21, taka ˈtipao; 22, teˈ ˈninao; 23, čamxːˈnšiu; 24, paxːˈkčiu; 25, šo ˈkoiyu; 26, woto ˈtiu; 27, co ˈhonoˈno; 28, ča ˈtːlao; 29, hotoi ˈyiu; 30, tubaudibao; 31, tiše ˈniu [no. 17?]; 32, nepːnwa ˈšu; 33, šišː ˈlu [Table Mountain?].

The Northern Foothill Region in 1851

● 114 648 The tribes at the eastern edge of the northern San Joaquin Valley, along the San Joaquin and Fresno rivers where they debouch from the foothills, were dislocated drastically by the Mariposa Battalion in 1851. The formation of this battalion to subdue the Indians of the San Joaquin Valley foothills climaxed increasing hostilities between the native owners and encroaching white settlers. Lafayette H. Bunnell, a physician accompanying the group which first entered the Yosemite Valley, included in his interesting and sympathetic book on the Yosemite and Indian War of 1851 some references to the Northern Foothill Yokuts.

101 114 648 The Chowchilla were believed to be the ringleaders in resisting white domination, and their name at that time was used to cover native groups which lived on the Fresno and San Joaquin rivers, as a dialectic difference was recognized between their speech and that of the tribes to the south on the Kings and Kaweah rivers, who were called collectively Kaweah.[28] (Or so do I interpret Bunnell's usage of the names "Chowchilla" and "Kaweah.")

648 The outstanding figure in the conflict was one José Rey, a "Chowchilla" chief whose assistant was Tomkːt, the father of our Dumna informant, B.W.[29] After José Rey's death, Tomkːt and Frederico went down to the Kings River people for help; there the local chiefs advised them to meet the terms of the white soldiers.[30]

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[28] Bunnell, Discovery of the Yosemite.

[29] B.W. represented himself as Dumna (Tumna) to me, as "Chowchilla" to Dr. Stanley Newman. As I have no reason to doubt his statements and have no contradictions from his Kechayi step-relative, I have kept his material under the Dumna label.

[30] Bunnell, 140-141.

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
NS29 Yokuts NS29

101 197 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley shades imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 131 [103] The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamniu, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitiu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwal. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: [103] Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tiniiu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sihetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] [103] The Tuhohi, Tohohai, or Tuhohayi (the t is almost like English tr) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 115 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitoi, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapsi	uyatsi.
kicha	chuichau (a place name).
oichat, uichao	lopchin-tiniiu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tiniiu.
te, tepe	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tiniiu (at the dog's hole).
tetatsoi	hoschc.
tsoe	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poso Creek, especially at Altau ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as K'ono-ilkin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapau (*shikid*, "arrow") in Poso Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley.

The Kumachisi, Komechesi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altau being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence.

TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yauedchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunui ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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any gap of distinctive process from that of obtaining grasshoppers, caterpillars, maggots, snails, mollusks, crawfish, or turtles, which can be got in masses or are practically immobile: a woman's digging stick will procure worms as readily as bulbs. Again, it is only a step to the taking of minnows in brooks, of gophers, or lizards, or small birds: the simplest of snares, a long stick, a thrown stone even, suffice with patience, and a boy can help out his grandmother. The fish pot is not very different from the acorn receptacle, and weirs, traps, stiff nets, and other devices for capturing fish are made in the same technique of basketry as the beaters, carriers, and winnowers for seeds. Even hunting was but occasionally the open, outright affair we are likely to think. Ducks were snared and netted, rabbits driven into nets, even deer caught in nooses and with similar devices. There is nothing in all this like the difference between riding down buffalo and gathering wild rice, like the break from whale hunting to berry picking, from farming to stalking deer.

The California Indian, then, secured his variety of foods by techniques that were closely interrelated, or, where diverse, connected by innumerable transitions. Few of the processes involved high skill or long experience for their successful application; none entailed serious danger, material exposure, or even strenuous effort. A little modification, and each process was capable of successful employment on some other class of food objects. Thus the activities called upon were distinguished by patience, simplicity, and crude adaptability rather than by intense endeavor and accurate specialization; and their outcome tended to manifold distribution and approximate balance in place of high yields or concentration along particular but detached lines.

The human food production of aboriginal California will accordingly not be well understood until a really thorough study has been made of all the activities of this kind among at least one people. The substances and the means are both so numerous that a recapitulation of such data as are available is always only a random, scattering selection.

Observers have mentioned what appealed to their sense of novelty or ingenuity, what they happened to see at a given moment, or what their native informants were interested in. But we rarely know whether such and such a device is peculiar to a locality or widespread, and if the former, why; whether it was a sporadic means or one that was seriously depended on; and what analogous ones it replaced. Statements that this tribe used a salmon harpoon, another a scoop net, a third a seine, a fourth poison, and that another

2: Kroeber E-5 (ca. 1918) 1953
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114 226 built weirs, give us in their totality some approximation to a picture of the set of activities that underlie fishing in California as a whole: but for each individual group the statement is of little significance, for it is likely that those who used the nets used the spear and poison also, but under distinctive conditions; and when they did not, the question is whether the lack of one device is due to a more productive specialization of another, or to natural circumstances which made the employment of this or that method from the common stock of knowledge impracticable for certain localities.

262 171 There is, however, one point where neither experience nor environment is a factor, and in which pure custom reigns supreme: the animals chosen for the list of those not eaten. Myth, magic, totemism, or other beliefs may be at the bottom; but every tribe has such an index, which is totally unconnected with its abilities, cultural or physical, to take food.

[171] Among the Yokuts, one animal stands out as edible that everywhere in northern California is absolute taboo and deadly poison: the dog. The Yurok give as their formal reason for not drinking river water that a large stream might contain human foetuses or a dead dog. The Yokuts did not shrink from eating dogs.

Coyote flesh was generally avoided, whether from religious reverence or magical fear is not clear. Grizzly bear meat was also viewed askance. The bear might have devoured human flesh, which would be near to making its eater a cannibal. Besides, in all probability, there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor. The disposition of the animal showed itself in the muscular fibers bristling erect when the flesh was cut, the Yokuts say. Brown bears had fewer plays of the imagination directed upon them, but even their meat was sometimes avoided. Birds of prey and carrion from the eagle down to the crow were not eaten. Their flesh, of course, is far from palatable; but it is these very birds that are central in Yokuts totemism, and the rigid abstinence may have this religious motivation. All reptiles were unclean to the southern Yokuts, as to the Tübatulabal; but the northern tribes exercised a peculiar discrimination. The gopher snake, water snakes, and frogs were rejected, but lizards, turtles, and, what is strangest of all, the rattlesnake, were fit food to the Chukchansi. There is a likely alien influence in this, for the neighboring Miwok probably, and the Salinans to the west certainly, ate snakes, lizards, and even frogs. On the other hand, the southern [224] Yokuts relished the skunk, which when smoked to death in its hole was without offensive odor; while to the Miwok and Salinans it was abomination.

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FOREWORD

The Yokuts or Yokoch Indians and F. F. Latta are an extraordinary combination.

This great Indian nationality once held the whole floor of the San Joaquin Valley, plus much of the adjoining foothill belt on both sides. Numbering some eighteen to twenty thousand souls, they were clustered into nearly fifty independent local tribes, mostly friendly to one another. Though each tribe definitely held its own delimited territory, there was constant visiting and return visiting, as nature according to season most bountifully provided fish, fowl, game, seeds, acorns or roots once here and then there. In their three hundred miles of range, the Yokuts were the most extensive as they were perhaps the most populous of the many diverse nationalities of aboriginal California. Each Yokuts tribe spoke its own slightly divergent dialect or sub-dialect; but all the way from Stockton to Bakersfield there prevailed at least partial intelligibility. Customs and institutions evinced a similar basic uniformity, varied by local peculiarities of detail, over the total stretch of the San Joaquin Valley. They were a tall, well built people of open outlook, were the Yokuts: frank, up-standing, casual and unceremonious, optimistic and friendly, fond of laughter, not given to cares of property or too much worry about tomorrow; and they lived in direct simple relation to their land and world, to its animals, spirits, and gods, and to one another.

F. F. Latta, the friend and historian of the Yokuts, is one of those rare beings—a natural-born ethnographer. That means he is a describer of other peoples' exotic ways and customs, an interpreter of their temperaments, a sympathetic reporter of their fortunes. Born and raised in the Great Valley, and long one of its better-known educators, he understands locale and environment, whites as well as Indians. In his observations, he is not only meticulous, but remarkably reliable. The accuracy of his accounts has particularly impressed me, for I studied the Yokuts too, between 1900 and 1910, at a time when far more of

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114 their native culture still survived, in practice or in memory, than now. Yet Latta's wealth of precise facts again and again makes me aware of how much I missed that I might have recorded.

Latta's volume should be a source of pride to the patriotism of the San Joaquin Valley and a basis for its local history, as it surely is a contribution toward the general, comparative study of the cultures of the races of mankind.

A. L. KROEBER

March 29, 1948

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PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley.

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation.

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks.

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale.

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blood Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the

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114 past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have
115 been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first
124 white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

128 It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatum statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

CHAPTER I

YOKUTS GEOGRAPHY

THE YOKUTS INDIANS

Before the coming of the white man, almost the entire San Joaquin Valley, from the summit of the Coast Range to the upper reaches of the Sierra foothills, from approximately the Cosumne River to Tejon Canyon on the east, and from Martinez to Paleta on the west, was occupied by one of the most interesting North American races of primitive people to be studied by scientists.

These San Joaquin Valley Indians were at one time quite numerous, there probably being within their territory no less than twenty-five thousand persons, all closely related by blood and language. They are known to scientists as *Yokuts*, Yokuts being a word taken from their language and meaning persons, or people. The word is never used in a singular form.

Some tribes, including the *Tachi*, pronounce the word *Yo'-kotch*, but there is little other variation in the pronunciation throughout the entire valley area. They use Yokuts much as we use the word everybody. No Yokuts Indian knows himself as a Yokuts, but readily understands what is meant when it is explained to him how the term is used by scientists.

There were probably at one time as many as fifty subtribes of the Yokuts group. Of those subtribes something is known about the boundaries and life of forty-four.

Because a vast area of the San Joaquin Valley was unoccupied by Indians when they were first studied, there has been some difference of opinion among scientists as to the exact blood and language groups that occupied this great basin. Some authorities have placed several language groups in the northern portion of the valley. But research done by this writer, as well as the many Yokuts tribe names distributed as far north as the Mokelumne and Cosumne rivers, indicates that all occupants of the San Joaquin Valley were Yokuts.

The greater part of the information available concerning the Yokuts was obtained from a study of less than a dozen tribes. In fact, almost none of them had been studied and reported upon by scientists before the year 1870.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

were afraid. Before arriving near the *Apelamenes* rancherie, near a dry creek named *Ores timac* there is also tall pine [must mean sycamore] and the soil the same as the spot described where we had the fight. [This is undoubtedly the difficulty referred to by Mr. Aguila.]

"The Indians, fearing our object was to capture them and take them to the mission, so they would not come out—it being late we went back to our old camping place and there spent the night without any water for our stock—This was the dry creek and canyon of Corpus Cristi.

"From this place traveling northeast we arrived at a place called "El Toro"—[probably refers to the present well known "Bull Heads"] there we ate and nooned—In the evening we arrived at a little valley 6 leagues NW from the nooning place [probably upper Crow Creek] where we found several water holes and named the place San Guillermo----.

"From San Guillermo we traveled in the same direction, another 6 leagues and came to the rancherie of the *"Palenos"* where we nooned and in the evening still traveling NW in about 5 leagues we arrived here at Santa Clara hale and hearty 'Thank God'.

Fr. Jose Viader"

According to Dr. A. L. Kroeber, of the University of California, the San Luis Valley and the Pacheco Pass west of the San Luis Ranch were held by the *Lis-nay'-yuk*. Earlier in this account Pahmit referred to this as the name of Pacheco Pass and not as a tribe name.

Such is the meager information concerning the entire West Side which the writer has been able to obtain during many years of inquiry. The extent of the loss of historical data in that area can only be appreciated by one who has studied the Yokuts Indians while they were living in their native land. On Kern, Tule, Kaweah, Kings and San Joaquin Rivers we know that it was almost impossible to move a mile in any direction without encountering a village site or an historic landmark of some sort which bore a name, or about which was told some interesting legend.

THE SOUTHERN YOKUTS

The lower portion of Tule River where it entered Tulare Lake was held by the *Chunut* tribe. These people ranged up

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

Wowol (Wo'-wol). Their principal village, *Sukwutnu* (Sook-woot'-noo), was approximately fifteen miles due west of the present city of Delano. On Atwell Island, present Alpaugh, was the village of *Chawlowin* (Chaw-lo'-win), meaning City of the Plains. There are probably no other known village-site names of this tribe.

On Kern River, below the Yowlumne, and on Buena Vista and Bull Sloughs leading from Buena Vista Lake past Goose Lake toward Tulare Lake, were the *Tuhohi*.

The northern and eastern shore of Kern Lake was occupied by the *Hometwoli*. Three of their village sites are known. *Loasau* was located on an early channel of Kern River, three miles north of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Pohalin* was about the same distance south of the eastern end of Kern Lake. *Halau* was on Old River channel, just before it entered Kern Lake Slough, between Kern and Buena Vista Lakes. This was the site of the later Mexican settlement known as La Consuela.

The territory south and west of Buena Vista Lake was occupied by the *Tulamni* tribe. These people ranged as far north as McKittrick, near where the village of *Wogatiu* was situated. At Bitter Water Creek near Taft was the village of *Hoschiu*. At the northwestern point of Buena Vista Lake was their main village, known as *Tulamniu* (Too-lahm'-ne-oo).

This last place is well known as the site excavated during the winter of 1933-'34 by the Smithsonian Institution. Details of this work are covered in Bulletin 130, Bureau of American Ethnology, titled *Archeological Investigations at Buena Vista Lake, Kern County, California*, by Waldo R. Wedel. Buena Vista Lake was known by the same name as the Buena Vista Hills and the village between the hills and the lake, Tulamniu.

THE RIVER PEOPLE

The dress and habits of primitive people vary largely according to the nature of the country in which they live and the animal and plant life upon which they must subsist. It is readily recognized not only that the Eskimo was forced to dress more warmly than the Yokuts Indians, but also that he had available many materials from which to prepare clothing not available to San Joaquin Valley tribes. The same thing might also be said about the food of the two peoples. To a lesser degree the Yokuts tribes themselves differed according to the

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[P. 74 not Processed]

CHAPTER IV

DRESS AND COMMUNICATIONS

YOKUTS MEN'S DRESS

291 If one is expecting a lengthy and detailed account of an extensive wardrobe worn by the various Yokuts tribes, he is doomed to disappointment. In dress they are often unfavorably compared with the Great Plains Indians. To do justice to these people, however, it must be known that the Great Plains Indians, with the exception of a few members of each tribe, did not appear as we are in the habit of seeing them pictured.

291 Probably the motion picture has been most responsible for
• 114 the misinformation which has been spread about Indians. Pictures have been made in which we are assured that as many as two thousand Indians have been employed in the cast. From what one sees in the picture, one would never know but that every tribe was composed of at least nineteen hundred and ninety-nine chiefs and one common, ordinary Indian.

291 The elaborate dress and head dress which is so commonly placed upon the pictured Indian was worn by probably not more than six men in a tribe of two thousand Indians. Another Indian of that tribe, when he was not entitled to it, would have taken his own life before he would have placed the head dress of a chief upon his head.

The common citizen of the Great Plains tribes did not appear a great deal unlike the average Yokuts Indians, the princi-
[142] pal difference being that the San Joaquin Valley natives were shorter and heavier and generally wore no foot covering of any
[177] sort. When the Spanish brought horses, hats and boots among them, they took the Spanish words for those articles and still use them when speaking their own language.

302 The men wore their hair long, but probably did not braid it until after they became acquainted with white people. They bound their hair into two coils somewhat resembling braids. These hung in front of the shoulders over each ear. Most often the hair was allowed to hang loose, being thrown back over the shoulders. It was held in place by a string wrapped around the head just above the eye-brows. This string was generally
[283 made from the fiber of the milk weed, and had woven into it
237] sacred down from the breast of the eagle, or from the red-tailed hawk.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

abroad gathering foodstuffs, the Indians lived in crude shelters, or huts, more than they did in permanent houses.

When the salmon were running in the San Joaquin River the Yokuts migrated to that place. During the season when millions of wild ducks and geese entered the valley, the Yokuts were to be found about the sloughs and swamps snaring them and shooting them with their bows and arrows, gorging themselves upon the fresh meat, and drying much of it to be carried many miles across the plains to the permanent villages.

The arrangement of the village was not as haphazard as we might be led to suppose. There were some rules governing the arrangement of the camp. These rules might be likened to some of our town and city ordinances. The Headman, or Chief, of the tribe was likely to occupy the most desirable location. The sweat house, which has already been described in detail, was located down stream from the rest of the village. This was due to the fact that care was taken not to polute the streams above the village. An Indian would be careful in wading across the stream above the village. Bathing and washing were generally done at or below the sweat house.

At least one writer, Steven Powers, and several pioneer whites, as well as aged Yokuts Indians, have stated that the plains and lake houses were built and arranged with almost military uniformity. When several houses stood near each other they were erected in a straight line which approximated a row of houses in a pioneer white town.

At every village several fires were kept going in the open, day and night. A hole several feet across and a foot or more in depth contained burning coals and cooking rocks. Into this fire pit was thrown all sorts of camp refuse. A pile of dry wood lay nearby. In at least some camps there were rules that the kitchen refuse and the offal from freshly killed game must be disposed of in this family fire-pit. Deer and large game was generally dressed in the field, the carcass being carried to the camp by the men who killed it. There it was taken in hand by the women.

In well organised tribes a stranger was not allowed to enter an Indian village unattended. At the lower and upper limits of the village were situated *Wisatuns* (messengers) whose business it was to meet strangers and conduct them to the chief or head man and to run all sorts of errands for him.

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

who do not possess an amount of information concerning these same plants and flowers equal to that which was once possessed by an intelligent ten year old Indian child.

824

The story was once told to me by Dr. C. Hart Merriam, noted authority on California Indians, that he obtained the name of a third and unknown species of manzanita from a *Miwok* Indian woman in the Sierra foothills below the Yosemite Valley. Two species of manzanita had already been studied for years and Dr. Merriam was attempting to find how far into the mountains the low-land manzanita grew. As both species were well known to the Indians, it saved much time to gather this information from them. He came to a little hut near a stream and asked the Indian woman who lived there how much further up the stream the low-land manzanita grew and whether the up-land tree extended down as far as her house. She hesitated a second, looked him in the eye, and answered, "They all *three* grow right here."

824
114

Dr. Merriam was sure that he had been misunderstood. While he was trying to explain to the Indian woman what was meant, she spoke two words to her eight year old daughter, who immediately left, and returned in less than one minute with three branches of manzanita. These the Indian woman took, and by means of the flower and leaf, pointed out to this noted scientist that they were from three different species of manzanita. He was dumbfounded. The means of identification used by the woman was that used by scientists and she had clearly identified a third species of manzanita. This noted man was kind enough to name this third species *Miwokiana*, after the tribal name of the Indian woman who first identified it.

Continuing in the vicinity for several days, Dr. Merriam became impressed with the amount of information possessed by the little eight year old girl. He found after continued questioning that she was able to identify more than 300 plants, birds, and animals common within a few miles of the cabin where she was born and was then living. Her mother knew more than 500 varieties.

Both the mother and daughter knew not only the names of the plants, but also where they grew, when they ripened, and whether the plant had any food or medicinal value. If it was of any value they knew what it was good for, how and when to harvest it, how to prepare and administer it. They could also

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

824 identify it among all other plants. If it was poisonous they 114 knew that, and were careful not to mix it with other plants being gathered. This knowledge extended to the birds, animals and even to the surrounding rocks. This meant that for each thing identified the mother and daughter knew approximately ten related facts. The number of facts furnished to this noted scientist numbered many thousand. Of added interest is the fact that the data furnished by the daughter checked accurately with that furnished by the mother, a record never attained by white school teachers in formal education. What educated person belonging to the "superior" white race has an equal store of information about his immediate surroundings?

192 824 In the belief that the names of the various wild flowers and plants common in the San Joaquin valley will be of interest to readers, the following list is appended:

Amaranth, California	*Choi-ni choi-ni*
Brodiaea, Purple Harvest	*Ho-lo'-wih*
Brodiaea, twining	*Kang-wah wid-dah*
Baby Blue Eyes	*Ah-du'-trun shesh-ch*
Bush, Button	*Cu'-chuy*
Brickellia	*Kaw-wats-ah'-puh*
Bush, Silk Tassel	*Shin-way*
Bamboo or cane	*Kod-kid*
Columbine	*Dum-tin'-un in-dip'-its*
Calycanthus occidentalis	*You-mut*
Daisy, Yellow	*Chaw-wung*
Ericameria	*Chaw-dud'-pot*
Fern, Great Chain	*Mun-no'-kits*
Fern, Maiden Hair	*Le-wit'-tah*
Flax, blue	*Kah-wah*
Fern, California Golden	*Yaw-kow'-ho*
Houses, Chinese	*Tawk-haw'-daw*
Honey Suckle, wild	*Ti-you la-ou*
Harebell-Satinbell	*Tah-pu'-you*
Lotus, Hill	*Shah-dum'-its*
Lily, Leopard	*Yah-am'-yuh*
Mustard	*Tro-mud*
Mistle Toe	*Taw-do*
Milkweed	*Chet-tik*
Milkweed, woolly	*Che-tik*
Milkweed, narrow leaf	*Shock*
Monkey flower	*Chow-ahew'-dah*

3: Latta Y-5 (1923-1948)1949 NS29 Yokuts NS29

the reader not see what happened one morning during the spring freshet many years ago?

The swollen stream suddenly broke from its old course upstream and cut a new channel in a different direction. At the Yokuts village the morning sun rose on a river channel devoid of water. The entire village was aroused. Their world had fallen about them. All medicine men were assembled and implored to bring the water back into the old channel. All charm-stones were gathered. The ceremony described by Mary J. Gates was performed by the inhabitants of an entire village who, if the stream failed to flow again, must in a few hours begin a march to the new channel. Although the singing and dancing went on throughout the day and night, no water came. So the stones were buried as an offering to the Tripne powers, and the migration was begun.

Incidentally, the publication written by Mary J. Gates and overlooked for more than fifty years, is one of the most substantial data available extending the range of northern Yokuts tribes into the Santa Clara Valley and toward the coast, where some authorities have long placed them.

From the depth at which this old village on Section 15 was buried it may be thought that the site was abandoned centuries ago. This may have been the case, but not necessarily. In recent years one ten-hour dust storm has been known to build mounds higher than the one which had accumulated above the old village site.

THE RATTLESNAKE DANCE

Students of the Yokuts Indians are surprised to learn that those simple, jolly people had developed a rattlesnake dance. Little is known as to whether or not this dance was performed on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. *Yoimut*, last surviving full-blood *Chunut* Yokuts, stated that members of the *Tulamni* tribe took part in a rattlesnake dance held in Tejon Canyon about 1865. It is possible that they had always attended the dances in Tejon Canyon.

From Tejon Canyon as far north as the San Joaquin River the Rattlesnake Dance was performed by Yokuts tribes until historic times. Aged Yokuts have related stories about such dances held at Dunlap, Squaw Valley, Drumm Valley, Kings River, Eshom Valley, Antelope Valley, Lemon Cove, Tule River, Deer Creek, Poso Creek, Kern River, and Tejon

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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CULTURE-ENVIRONMENT INTEGRATION: EXTERNAL REFERENCES IN YOKUTS LIFE

A. H. GAYTON

I

ONE OF THE ASPECTS of culture dynamics which has received particular attention in recent years is that of integration. Pattern, complex, configuration, integrating factor, and theme have been used as labels for those culture elements which seem to cling together about some core of thought or action. When such constellations interpenetrate various aspects of a total culture they are regarded as integrators—cohesive forces binding parts, if not wholes, of a culture together. The function of the "theme" as a dynamic factor has recently been set forth by Dr M. E. Opler with some pertinent examples of active patterns in Chiricahua Apache life.[1] I interpret his construct of "theme" to be essentially the more familiar "culture pattern," in the ideational realm, with the factor of emotional surcharge taken into account as the active ingredient. Unlike some anthropological concepts, his has the virtue of being grounded in specific ethnographic realities.

An earlier paper by Dr Du Bois demonstrated both cohesive and disruptive action in Tututni culture deriving from the wealth concept, and still earlier, the three-way forces of mythology, chieftanship, and shamanism maintaining social balance in Yokuts life were described by the present writer.[2] The most intellectualized account of cultural integration is that for the Hopi by Dr Thompson in which no mechanism of integration is shown save an all-pervading logic of the mind.[3]

In the abstract we have to assume that some of these basic cultural currents work for or against each other; others, and perhaps the bulk of culture elements, may be neutral. When Opler completes his thematic analysis of Apache culture, presumably the counter-balance of the driving parts within the structure will be

1 Morris Edward Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture* (American Journal of Sociology, vol. 51, pp. 198-206, 1945).

2 Cora Du Bois, *The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture* (in *Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, pp. 149-165, Berkeley, 1936); A. H. Gayton, *Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 24, pp. 361-420, 1930).

3 Laura Thompson, *Logico-Aesthetic Integration in Hopi Culture* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 540-553, 1945).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946

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revealed.[3a] Meanwhile, the integrations described in the papers mentioned above deal exclusively with immaterial culture—political organization, economics, social or religious or aesthetic values—without relation to externals, especially so broad an external as environment. Environment, when considered as relevant to culture, is usually limited to its place in the subsistence or material aspects—the phase of native life known as exploitation of environment which has been described with increasing frequence in recent years in ethno-biological studies. Thus, the thematic factors of social life on the one hand and the environmental factors of material culture on the other have been left as disparate parts which move in the total culture without any direct conjunctive action.[4]

In at least one culture, that of the Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin valley foothills, there is an intimate relation between important immaterial phases of the culture and the environmental setting. This will be described, and in so doing the function of the environment as a culture stabilizer, possibly even as an active integrator, will become evident.

There is nothing essentially new in this viewpoint. The relation of culture to environment in the determination of culture areas was given a broad treatment by Dr Wissler, whose conclusions have been succinctly reëxpressed by Dr Kroeber in his own more recent extensive survey of culture areas, ecology, and culture climaxes in North America. Thus:

> We can accept Wissler's findings on the relation of culture areas to environment. He concludes that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilizes it. Because at many points the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to changes. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence, such as the introduction of agriculture.[5]

Wissler made an early attempt to fix the psychological factor in the relation-

3a Since this paper went to press Dr Opler has published a thematic analysis of Lipan culture, *An Application of the Theory of Themes* (Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences, vol. 36, pp. 137-166, 1946).

4 That something similar to themes exist in material culture is evident when techniques are considered with their aesthetic goals and standards of craftsmanship. For example, Dr O'Neale's study of Yurok and Karok basketry is replete with the ideational overtones of the craft (Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 32, pp. 1-184, 1932). If integration is a verity as a cultural process it should be demonstrable in material as well as immaterial forms of culture.

5 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), p. 6.

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
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ship of environment to culture, and while matters such as instinct, mental level, and schools of anthropology in vogue at the time somewhat obscure the main issue of his treatise, his "reaction point of view" may still be examined profitably.

> By reaction we mean the conception that external things and relations impress the mind so as to be at least the occasion for return action. . . . The problem for us is, however, Do such stimuli or impressions determine or modify culture?[6]

Nor did Dr Boas omit the environmental factor when he said,

> The explanation of the activity of the mind of man . . . requires the discussion of two distinct problems. The first bears upon the question of unity or diversity of organization of the mind, while the second bears upon the diversity produced by the variety of contents of the mind as formed in the various social and *geographical* environments.[7]

Without emphasizing the subsistence link which already has been the chief concern of culture-environment studies, the paper in hand will demonstrate how large a part of one culture was enmeshed with its natural surroundings. Environment herein is meant to include any or all externals of the culture and the people (culture-bearers), though, naturally, culture itself and even physiology are recognized as environment to the individual. For our present purpose the Yokuts and neighboring Western Mono of the Sierra Nevada foothills may be considered culturally one in spite of linguistic and other habitual differences. Emphasis will be on foothill rather than valley Yokuts, the Wukchumni in particular as exemplifying the norm of the cultural features described.[8]

II

The seasonal round of the year had three phases in native terms which fitted with the San Joaquin valley climate: Winter (tomo´kšiu) began about November and lasted through February; Spring (tisa´miu) was roughly March through May; and Summer (haiya´di) was from June through October.[9] These were: a cold rainy season when plant life was in a productive lull and habitation was

6 Clark Wissler, *The Psychological Aspects of the Culture Environment Relation* (American Anthropologist, vol. 14, pp. 217-225, 1911).

7 Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York, 1916), p. 103; italics mine.

8 The letter Y after a tribal name denotes Yokuts, WM, Western Mono. All ethnographic material unless otherwise noted is from the author's *Yokuts and Western Mono Ethnography* (Anthropological Records, in press).

9 A fourth season, Fall (wusa'o), was mentioned only upon inquiry, if at all, by my Central Foothill informants, and I believe it to be a modern interpolation. The Northern Foothill people clearly recognized a fall season, as indicated by my own and Dr Driver's informants (Harold E. Driver, *Culture Element Distributions: VI, Southern Sierra Nevada*, Anthropological Records, vol. 1, pp. 53-154, 1937, p. 150).

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY-MAKING

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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FOREWORD

The information on pottery-making contained in this paper was obtained on field trips made for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1927.[1]

Description of the style of the ware is based upon thirty-four specimens: twelve Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Hudson collection, Field Museum of Natural History, of which photographs and dimensions have been kindly supplied by that institution; thirteen Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Barrett collection,[2] Museum of Anthropology, University of California; seven Western Mono vessels in the same museum collected by the writer; and two Western Mono vessels in Sequoia National Park Museum (fig. 2).

Photographs supplementary to the author's have been kindly loaned by Professor T. T. Waterman. These appear in plates 96 and 97.

[1] The dialectic groups, names, and approximate ages, respectively, of contributing informants are:

Yokuts: Bankalachi, Frank Manuel, 65; Choinimni, Pony Dick Watun, 70; Chunut, Josie Alonzo, 65; Dumna, Bill Wilson, 90; Kechayi, Ellen Murphy, 70; Michahai, Dinky, 55; Paleuyami, Martha Alto, 70; Tachi, Mollie Garcia, 80; Wükchumni, Mollie Lawrence, 70; Yaudanchi, Mary Sanwaihat, 95.

Western Mono: Patwisha (Balwisha), Mary Pohot, 55; Waksachi, Sam Osborn, 65; Bob Osborn, 75; Wobonuch, Jane Waley, 65.

[2] For illustrations of six of these specimens see Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, B.A.E. Bull. 78, pl. 51, 1925.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
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METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353-373, 1928.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
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were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxtaposition of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–353, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1922; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a rancheria near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860–1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Dumna
Toltichi

Nouns:

ton, digger-pine, plural tun-ña; ut'u, tree, ut'ô-a, timber. These plurals of inanimate nouns are unexampled in all other dialects that are grammatically known. Nônei, plural of nôno, man, occurs in other dialects also.

cuteon-au, (in the) brush.

ak^{w}d-ate, child; poyod-ate, old man.

Adjectives:

got-ate, small, apparently from got-i, large.

[802] Numerals:

yeteam, eleven, potedom, twelve; copiom, hate'pam, yit'team, teolpom, nom'teom, mun'team, non'pom, thirteen to nineteen.

Verbs:

lihim-ga, run, holoc-ga, sit, wowul-ga, stand, ugun-ga, drink, wan-ga, give, yet-ka, speak—all imperative.

ogon-an, drink, wiy-an, say, tac-an (taic), see.

tanyue-a-xon.

teapli-wic, moccasin; dat-la-wac, stepping-ceremony.

hacaw-ana, dead.

ma ti-ma wihi, did you say it?

TOLTICHI.

A divergent northern dialect, which has become extinct, was the Toltichi, spoken by the Yokuts tribe living farthest up the San Joaquin river. The last person actually using this dialect, a woman, is said by the Yokuts informants to have died thirty years ago. She was related to the old woman from whom the Dumna material used in the present paper was obtained, and from this Dumna informant a brief vocabulary of the Toltichi dialect was secured. This vocabulary, however, raises some doubts, and for this reason the dialect has not been included in the general consideration of the others. The fifty or sixty Toltichi words obtained show forms that go back quite clearly to stems characteristic of the northern Yokuts group. There are however two marked peculiarities, one phonetic, the other lexical. [802] First, there are uniform consonant changes: s, c, and h to x, and

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi

n, l, y, to and sometimes t to w. Second, the numerals are peculiar in not being Yokuts at all, nor Miwok or Shoshonean nor apparently of any other known linguistic family. These divergent numerals render the Toltichi dialect very puzzling. It is beyond doubt that the set of numerals obtained existed somewhere in this region, for a second informant among the northern Yokuts was sufficiently acquainted with the series to state that it was correct. On general grounds, however, it seems highly improbable that a dialect differing from the other northern Yokuts dialects principally only in regular phonetic mutations should possess a numeral system radically peculiar to itself. It is possible that this numeral system belonged to a distinct linguistic family on the upper San Joaquin, almost extinct at the coming of the whites, and that these people, through intercourse with the neighboring Yokuts, were familiar also with Yokuts, which, on account of the phonetic characteristics of their own language, they barbarously distorted; but there is no direct evidence whatever to support such a conjecture. A further complication is caused by the fact that the phonetic mutations characterizing the bulk of the Toltichi material obtained are so extreme and consistent that they differ totally in nature from all known phonetic equivalences and changes of Yokuts dialects and dialectic groups. The informant evidently held a strong impression of the phonetic peculiarity of the language, particularly its roughness, for she pronounced its k's as far back in the throat as possible and emphasized as strongly as possible both the guttural and the spirant character of the x with which she replaced the s of her own dialect. As she spoke this it still bore some audible resemblance to s, and was formed with the lower lip drawn into the mouth. It seems very unlikely that any language was actually thus spoken. It must therefore be concluded that the phonetic peculiarities of this dialect have been exaggerated in the record obtained. Once this exaggeration is accepted, it becomes doubtful to what extent it was carried. It may be concluded that the dialect differed from the neighboring Yokuts dialects in the directions indicated by the material obtained; but whether only slightly, or to the degree shown by this vocabulary, must be doubtful.

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197*
193
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114

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Toltichi
DUMNA

If, accordingly, the Toltichi were Yokuts,[1] and not people of another linguistic family whose distortion of Yokuts has been imitated in the scant material secured, they must be regarded as a specialized offshoot of the northern group. If their language is at all fairly represented by the vocabulary, it possessed sufficient distinctness to entitle it to be regarded as a separate branch, and the number of Yokuts dialectic groups would have to be increased from six to seven. After all considerations, however, the internal nature of the information secured raises so many doubts, that it has seemed best to regard the available material as only tentative, and to refrain from definitely regarding the Toltichi as forming a distinct Yokuts dialectic group.

The material obtained is here given, together with the Dumna equivalents. It will be seen that the presence of the imperative suffix -ka, and of the form amin for the possessive pronoun of the third person, if correct, place Toltichi close to the other northern Yokuts dialects.

English	*Toltichi*	*Dumna*
1	uka	yet
2	hin	punai
3	nayo	shopin
4	ámin	katopanai
5	hio	yitecinil
6	otol	te'olipi
7	nuhate	nomte'in
8	te'sitomuk	mon'os
9	wá'dito	nhnip
10	wadi'te	ta'lou
person	wuhote	yuhote
man	wo'wil	nhnoi
woman	mok'hwa	mok'lin
child	k'ow-ito	ak'd-ato
ear	nuk°	tuk
eye	naxa	nan
nose	winik'	t-inik
mouth	xama	oama
hand	p'ohox	b'onos
foot	ta'wan'	dad-ats
back	katauw°	gadai, ootox

[1] It may be said that several northern Yokuts informants were unanimous in declaring the Toltichi to have been a Yokuts tribe, and the one farthest up the San Joaquin river.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906) 1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Chauchila
Hoyima
Wakichi

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Verbs:

-ku, imperative.
-in, future-present.
-am (?)
-xo, -k-xo, continuative.
-wic, reflexive.

The vowels of the three suffixes -ku, -in, -am are assimilated to the vowels of the stem. This is exceptional in Yokuts. Usually it is the stem-vowels that are affected by the suffix. When the suffix vowel is altered, in other Yokuts dialects, it is as frequently to contrast with the stem-vowels as to agree with them. The assimilation of the vowel of the imperative -ku is especially noteworthy, as in Yauelmani and other dialects this ending appears to be an enclitic rather than a true suffix, and fails to affect the vowels of the stem as s-suffixes do.

-ku: lui-ku, ukun-ku, tui-ku, gun-ku, lihim-i-ki, cilit-ki.
-in: ae-ae-an, woy-on, hiwet-en, ciel-en, tay-en.
-am: dauc-am, thirsty; wok-om, kill.
-xo: etil-xo, tay-e-xo.
-wic: wok-woc, huyo-wuc, lun-i-wic.

HOYIMA.

A few phrases of this dialect were given by Chauchila and Chukchansi informants. They appear not to be strictly accurate. [114]●

helo nuxon dut, Chauchila hilen nexo ux (?), what do you say (?)

hauken dut, Chauchila h'len nem ux (?), Chukchansi ha weta, what do you say?

ciel-am na, Chauchila etil-xo na, I am hungry.

hauk nu dut, Chukchansi hauk nu du, when was that?

wiy-en, Chukchansi hew-a-en, thus.

WAKICHI.

A few Wakichi phrases were obtained from the Dumna informant. The differences that these show from the equivalent Dumna phrases have probably been exaggerated.

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

animal, not a grazing animal and few suitable shrubs and trees grow in the region. There were some herds of antelope, especially in the eastern portions, and some tule elk. Even rabbits were less numerous than in adjoining regions. In the most favorable sections burrows were periodically flooded while elsewhere feed was scanty.

The Tachi Yokuts were located north and west of Tulare Lake. Of the eight locatable Tachi settlements, six were on the sloughs near Tulare Lake or on the shores of the lake itself; two were on the dry plains west of the lake.[4] Each settlement consisted of one, and in most cases probably several, long wedgeshaped houses covered with tule mats and housing several families. Latta claims these sometimes reach the length of 300 feet but most writers consider this excessive.[5] Kroeber cites Gabriel Moraga who visited the Tachi in 1806 and records the range of some 60 to 800 persons for southern Yokuts villages.[6] Moraga's report is suspect but other data suggest that most Tachi villages contain several hundred people.[7]

The location of settlements was importantly influenced by the location and permanence of water. The lake shore itself offered difficulties, for the surrounding terrain is relatively flat and in some places a change of lake level of one foot would shift the lake margin as much as 4 miles.[8] According to Gifford and Schenck when the lake surface was 192 feet above sea-level, only 300 square miles was covered, but at its highest level of 220 feet, the area was 800 square miles. The highest level was unstable and villages located with reference to this might at many times have no access to water. The 500 square miles between the lower and the highest level, was marshly and "an area in which man could not have resided permanently."[9] Consequently, the most desirable sites were on permanent sloughs offering access to the lake but located on ground high enough to be out of flood water. Some of the Yokuts, possibly including the Tachi, when they could not find a sufficiently elevated house site would raise the floor by carrying in baskets of earth. In addition, the Tachi and

[4] GAYTON, 1948 map. 2; KROEBER, p. 484, plate 47; LATTA, p. 13.
[5] LATTA, p. 90.
[6] KROEBER, p. 491.
[7] GAYTON, 1948, p. 13.
[8] LATTA, p. 30.
[9] GIFFORD and SCHENCK, pp. 8-11.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

ESTUDILLO AMONG THE YOKUTS: 1819

By A. H. Gayton

The Spanish missions situated on the California coast between San Francisco and San Diego made frequent forays into the San Joaquin valley for converts during the early years of the nineteenth century. The commandants of these little expeditions usually kept diaries or made reports, some of which contain facts of interest concerning the nature of the land and people visited. None of them are very illuminating ethnographically, but they do add bits to our knowledge of the region, so different at that time. Then, as now, it was inhabited entirely by Yokuts-speaking tribes save for a fringe of Shoshoneans along its mountainous eastern edge.

The report made in diary form by Lieutenant José María Estudillo in 1819 has somehow been overlooked. Bancroft speaks of it as "not extant" and of Estudillo's campaign as "a failure."[1] He thereby apparently misled later writers, who omitted the information contained in this diary from an otherwise thorough investigation of archive material on Yokuts village sites and populations.[2] It does not figure in Merriam's discussion of California native populations, though it is used by this author in another connection at a later date.[3] The data offered by Estudillo supplement those of Moraga and Garcés used by Kroeber in his estimate of Yokuts and California Indian populations.[4] To integrate our Spaniard's calculations with the results arrived at by Kroeber, Gifford, and Schenck, is beyond the scope of this paper, the purpose of which is merely to make the data more readily available to those interested.

Meager as are the ethnographic facts recorded by Estudillo, they coincide with the details of Yokuts culture obtained by Kroeber and other investigators a century later. The sketchy lines of Estudillo's picture are readily extended into a realistic delineation of Yokuts life by those familiar with its characteristics. The aquatic habits of the valley people contrast strongly with the hunting, seed-gathering activities of the hill dwellers. Yet it is clear that they maintained close communication and enjoyed intertribal festivities on a large scale, as we have been told by modern informants. That amicable relations between the foothill Yokuts and the Western Mono (the "bad people" of the mountains) is recent, is also corroborated.

Two copies of the diary appear to have been made by Estudillo or his amanuensis. The first, translated here, is finally dated November 16, 1819. The second, not differing sensibly from this, is finally dated November 19, and is presumably a copy of the first made after his return and perhaps polished a

[1] H. H. Bancroft, The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 19: California, Vol. II, 1801–1824 (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Company, 1885), 336.

[2] E. W. Gifford and W. Egbert Schenck, Archaeology of the Southern San Joaquin Valley, UC-PAAE 23:24, 1926.

[3] C. Hart Merriam, The Indian Population of California, AA, n.s., 7:594–606, 1905; Jedediah Smith's Route across the Sierra in 1827, California Historical Society Quarterly, 25–29, April, 1924.

[4] A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:488–491, 1925.

11: Gayton E-4 (no date) 1936 NS29 Yokuts NS29

trifle. To it is added a section entitled "Notes" which contains only a few supplementary remarks of interest. The lieutenant summarizes his observations on the nature and fertility of the land, advises that the proselytizing of the Indians be carried on in their homeland to obviate the nostalgia which caused the converts to abandon their new life at the strange coast missions, and suggests the region of Kings River outlet as a suitable location for establishing a mission and garrison. Pertinent items from these notes have been interpolated in the text given below.[1]

The translation is reasonably accurate: common sense rather than pedantry has guided the choice of renditions. Dubious words or passages are given in brackets, as are other remarks inserted by the present writer. At a few points the meanings are considerably obscured by the cryptic style of the original.

The *legua* of Estudillo's day was about equivalent to two and two-thirds (2.67) miles. The *paso doble* with which he measured the Chischa village was probably the *paso* of five feet, as this fits fairly well with his calculations as transposed into *varas*, the three-foot yard. The word *tular*, meaning a swamp or lagoon filled with tules, has been retained because of its peculiar aptness. A *roblar* is an oak-covered district. The inconsistencies in the spelling of native names are in the original.

The Diary

A diary which I, Lieutenant Don José María Estudillo, Commandant of the Presidio of Monterey, made on the campaign by order of the Governor of the Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vizente de Sola, undertaken for the reconnaissance and inspection of the rancherías situated in the tulares of the plains of the Sierra Nevada, from that day to today.

Sunday, October 17, 1819.—After having heard mass I left the Presidio referred to at 10:45 in the morning, and at 1:30 in the afternoon arrived at the Rancho de Real Hacienda. After separating 183 horses I departed. I slept at the mouth of the arroyos where I arrived at 7 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from Monterey 8 leagues].

Monday, 18.—At 5 A.M. I left the said location for Mission Soledad where I arrived at 11, and at 2 P.M., in the company of the Indians Antonio and Victor, Tulareños [Yokuts], I left, to sleep at the place Los Ositos, which I reached at 6 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant from starting point 11 leagues].

From this point I dispatched a corporal to San Antonio Mission for 11 Indians, and for 30 blankets to cover the soldiers of the party, and with orders to rejoin me at Mission San Miguel on the 20th.

Tuesday, 19.—At 5:30 A.M. left Los Ositos, and arrived to sleep at the hole [*poza*] of the cañon of San Miguel at 5:30 P.M. [copy of Nov. 19: distant 10½ leagues]. At 9 P.M. the corporal Manuel Butron with the soldier who had accompanied him, rejoined me.

[1] Another copy, but partially done and in another handwriting, of the November 19 manuscript also exists. All three copies are in the Bancroft Library at the University of California, where Professor H. I. Priestley courteously facilitated my use of them.

[P. 31C]

175 affected in a uniform manner throughout and a sufficiently
*161 clear line can be drawn between aboriginal and postcontact conditions. In the central valley the white influence was very gradual, beginning at or near the year 1770 with the entrance of the Spanish missionaries along the coast and the infiltration of a very few foreigners into the valley. The volume of invasion increased slowly over the next three decades, but the effect was intensified by the escape of numerous mission neophytes into the valley. The years after 1800 saw repeated incursions by the coastal whites who overran the floor of the valley from the Sacramento River to Buena Vista Lake. Meanwhile the foothill and mountain tribes were permitted to remain fairly intact. With discovery of gold, however, these groups lost their immunity and were rapidly destroyed. Therefore, even though we oversimplify, we may say that the aboriginal population persisted in the valley proper up to 1770, in the lower foothills up to roughly 1810, and in the higher foothills and more remote canyons of the Sierra Nevada up to 1850.

127 Our sources of information cover only the period
● 114 during which the demographic status of the natives was undergoing change. No written record exists that describes conditions as they might have been found prior to 1770. The only possible substitute would be an examination of the habitation sites left from prehistoric times, but archaeological research in the area has not yet progressed to the point where an adequate quantitative estimate of population is available. There are three primary bodies of data to which we have access, all falling within the historical period between 1770 and 1860.

The first of these derives from the serious effort on the part of the Americans, who between 1848 and 1852 were entering the region in large numbers, to determine the quantity of natives surviving in the central valley. This task was performed by such men as Sutter, Bidwell, and Savage, together with several Indian commissioners, and army officers sent out by the government. To their reports may be added the statements contained in the local county histories published in the era of 1880 to 1890, as well as in many pioneer reminiscences.

A second major source of information consists of the ethnographic studies made within the past fifty years, among which should be mentioned the works of Kroeber, Merriam, Schenck, Gayton, and Gifford. These investigators depended principally upon informants who were elderly people in the decades from 1900 to 1940. Their memories, together with their recollection of what had been told them by their parents, carry back, on the average, to the period of the American invasion or just before it. Hence their knowledge of truly aboriginal population would be valid for the hill tribes only; yet data

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
[P.32A]

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114 derived from them for that region is probably more accurate than can be obtained from the general estimates made by contemporary white men. These two types of information, contemporary American accounts and modern ethnographic material, can thus be used to supplement and check each other for the era of 1850.

For conditions in the valley before 1840 we have to depend almost exclusively upon the historical records left by the Spanish and Mexicans. These consist of a series of diaries, reports, and letters, by both laymen and ecclesiastics, together with baptism lists and censuses from the coastal missions. This array of documents is to be found in the manuscript collections of the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley.

It will be clear from these considerations that the

12: Cook S-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 32B]

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population of the San Joaquin Valley can be determined with some degree of accuracy at two stages in the history of the region. The later period is at the point of intense occupancy by the Americans, at or near the year 1850, for here may be brought to a focus the data from both contemporary counts and the research of modern ethnographers. The earlier is for the epoch just preceding the entrance of the Spanish into California, or just before 1770. To assess the population at this period it is necessary to bring to bear information from all sources, American and Spanish, and to utilize all indirect methods of computation which may be appropriate. As a matter of historical interest, as well as to provide a background for the estimate of aboriginal population, the state of the natives in the period of the Gold Rush will be first examined.

Y
*161 which we are considering. There are left the following figures, which seem essentially valid.

Ryer and the treaties (1851)	8,648
Wessels (1853)	7,500-8,000
Barbour (1853)	7,500-8,000
Henley (1856)	5,150

[continued at top of p. 34B]

ANALYSIS BASED UPON
Restricted Areas

Y
*161 Further examination and correction are now in order.
●11A It will be noted that the estimates above do not include the area traversed by the Cosumnes, Mokelumne, and Calaveras rivers. Moreover, the federal agents confined their calculations to those natives who voluntarily or otherwise were incorporated in the local reservation system. That many Indians were overlooked, not only in the more remote foothills, but also in the valley itself cannot be doubted. In order to assess the population in greater detail as well as to introduce new sources of information it will be advantageous to break up the entire region into smaller units and consider these units one by one.

STANISLAUS AND TUOLUMNE RIVERS

M
161 We may begin with the watersheds of the Stanislaus and Tuolumne rivers, since for this area reasonably complete information is available (see maps 1, 5, and 6, areas 7 and 9.) On May 31, 1851, the Daily Alta California reported the treaty made with tribes of this region and stated that they were 1,000 strong. This treaty (treaty E in the California Treaties) covered the courses of the two streams as far as their junction with the San Joaquin, on the one hand, and an indeterminate distance into the hills, on the other. Ryer vaccinated in the area during June of the same year and submitted a bill for 1,010 operations. He specifies 6 bands, rancherias, or tribes which were predominantly Siakumne and Taulamni, a fact which implies that he confined his attention principally to the inhabitants of the valley and the lower foothills. In the preceding discussion it was pointed out that Ryer's figures are probably too low and that a correction should be introduced. If the same ratio is used as before, the value becomes 1,420.

Adam Johnston, in a statement published in 1853 includes a map (Johnston, 1853, p. 242). Along the rivers shown on this map he has placed figures for population. According to him there were 900 Indians on the Stanislaus and 450 on the Tuolumne, or a total of 1,350. These are distinctly noted as reservation Indians and hence would not have included the entire population. Four years later, H. W. Wessels reported for the same area only 500-700 persons (Wessels, 1857). These were the Indians left on the reservations.

At about the same period, James D. Savage gave as his opinion that there were 2,500 people on the Stanislaus and 2,100 on the Tuolumne (Dixon, MS, 1875). In their report in 1853 Barbour, McKee, and Wozencraft refer to a statement by a chief named Kossus that under his jurisdiction were 4,000 persons and 30 rancherias from the Calaveras to the Stanislaus. Although these two estimates are widely at variance with those submitted by the officials, it must be remembered that both Savage and Chief Kossus may have been referring to a somewhat earlier date and that both included bands and settlements

[continued at middle of p. 34B]

THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

127 114 In order to estimate the aboriginal population of the San Joaquin Valley it is necessary to rely very heavily on the accounts furnished by the colonial Spanish and Mexicans. These were primarily ecclesiastics and military men who entered the territory for purposes of exploration, to seek new converts to the missions, or to chastise stock raiders. The more responsible of these left circumstantial and, as a rule, fairly accurate narratives and diaries. Unless there is in a particular case some reason for doubt, their statements may be accorded considerable confidence.

At the same time two circumstances often render the interpretation of the data derived from these documents difficult. The first is the lack of consistent designations for places. During the process of opening up the area it was inevitable that rivers and villages should be assigned different names by one explorer after another and that the same name should be applied to more than one locality. The second is that during the early phases of exploration some localities were visited repeatedly, whereas others were overlooked perhaps entirely. Hence the information available to us is very uneven; it permits us to achieve a reasonably clear idea of the population of one region but leaves another almost completely blank. As a result extrapolation by area is almost unavoidable.

It must also be constantly borne in mind that the Spanish records themselves do not give us an absolutely undistorted picture of aboriginal conditions. It is very evident from the reports of the earliest official pioneers, like Garcés in 1776 and Martin in 1804, that from 1770 onward and perhaps [illegible]en before white men had straggled into the valley and had consorted with the natives. There is reason to believe that these unknown interlopers may have introduced diseases which adversely affected the population and may have initiated a process of general social disruption. The best we can do is get as close to the prehistoric condition as the records allow.

127 114 *161 Two other demographic consequences arise from this very early white contact. In the first place, the documentary record, if we ignore Garcés for the moment, runs nearly continuously from 1804 to approximately 1840. During this long period an uninterrupted change was going on among the native population: the population was continually decreasing. Hence later reports tend to deviate from earlier ones, and indeed may show an entirely new state of affairs arising within a very few years. In the second place, the deterioration in certain areas took place so rapidly in the first part of the nineteenth century that any information secured from informants alive since 1900 is completely useless. Unless very good documentary evidence is available for such areas, there is no recourse but to fall back on the method of extrapolation and area comparisons.

127 114A The principal Spanish accounts upon which we must rely include a few which have been published. Most of them, however, are to be found in manuscript form in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Some of them were translated for an unpublished manuscript by the Late Professor Herbert I. Priestley and

12: Cook 5-4 (no date) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29
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THE ABORIGINAL POPULATION

several were translated for Dr. C. H. Merriam. Merriam's translations are on file in his manuscript collection. The citations to these accounts, published and unpublished, are given in the manuscript section of the Bibliography. In this text they are referred to, without further citation, by the author's name and date.

THE TULARE LAKE BASIN

We may commence detailed consideration of the aboriginal population with the Tulare Lake Basin, which was inhabited in 1800 by three Yokuts tribes, the Wowol, Tachi, and Chunut (see maps 1 and 2, area 2). The first official visitor to the area was Father Juan Martin who entered the valley in 1804 in search of new mission sites. He found the principal village of the Wowol, which he called Bubal. This rancheria, he said, contained not less than 200 children. It was visited again in 1806 by Moraga, who found 400 inhabitants. Eight years later Father Cabot passed the site and found 700 people. Subsequently, it was visited by Ortega in 1813 and Estudillo in 1819 but these writers gave no population figures. Since no other village was ever recorded by name in the territory of the tribe, it is safe to assume that there was no other, at least of permanence and reasonably large size.

Gifford and Schenck (1926), in their discussion of the history of the southern valley, conclude that because the village was reported as having 400 persons in 1806 and 700 in 1814 there was a real increase in population during the intervening eight years. This they ascribe to fugitives from the coastal missions who entered the valley as refugees. The opinion expressed by these authors may serve as the starting point for discussion of certain general problems which are encountered in attempting to estimate the aboriginal population of the valley.

In 1804 Martin saw 200 children. If we knew the ratio of children to adults, we could easily compute the total number of inhabitants. The age of "children" was variously estimated in colonial New Spain, indeed all the way from seven to fifteen years. The early California missionaries used approximately fourteen years for males and twelve for females. In 1793, however, the system was standardized for doctrinal purposes. Indians, both gentile and converted, were designated as children if they were under ten years, i.e., in the age bracket from 0 to 9 inclusive. Hence all the clergy conformed to the method in so far as they were able and unless they specified otherwise.

There are certain data available which permit us to estimate rather closely what proportion of the population in California should be regarded as falling within the category of children. Within the missions the annual censuses enable us to compute with accuracy that the individuals under the age of ten years, between the dates 1782 and 1832 averaged 21.4 per cent of the total population (Cook, 1940). This value is relatively high and may not conform to gentile, or aboriginal, conditions. With regard to these we have information from archaeological sources. In the Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley

*161 for the southern end of the valley as a whole 6,920, or in round numbers 6,900.

SOUTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY 6,900

THE NORTHERN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

*161 ● 114 The remaining portion of the Yokuts-Miwok territory lay in the valley and foothills north of the Merced River. This area (see maps 1 and 5, areas 8-13 inclusive), particularly the delta of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers, was entered relatively early by the Spaniards and by the year 1820 had been almost completely swept of its native population. The names of many whole tribes have been lost and the exact locations of many others are now almost impossible to ascertain. Of village names only those few are known to us which were preserved, often by chance, in the mission records and accounts of expeditions. Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the aboriginal human geography but none has been entirely successful. Kroeber's account, which accompanies his discussion of the Plains Miwok and northern Yokuts in the Handbook of California Indians, is manifestly incomplete. Merriam's paper on the Mewan Stock of California (1907) is helpful, but probably the best work of the modern investigators is that of Schenck (1926). The early nineteenth-century accounts for this region are also less satisfactory than for the central and southern parts of the San Joaquin Valley. Moraga's record is useful only for the Tuolumne River, and the delta is covered only by Abella and Duran. It is true that both Sutter and Gatten give figures for villages south of Sacramento but their information pertains only to the badly depleted natives of the 'forties. Hence their censuses are of little value for assessing the aboriginal condition.

*161 127 1797 One source not available for other areas is the mission records. The converts from the delta and lower San Joaquin Valley were brought almost exclusively into the San Francisco, San Jose, and Santa Clara missions. The baptism books of these missions have been preserved, and two copies have been made. The first, of the San Francisco Mission, was made by A. Pinart in 1878 and is at present in the Bancroft Library in Berkeley. The other records, copied by S. R. Clemence in 1919, include the records of all three missions and are now to be found, in typed form, among the manuscripts in the file of C. H. Merriam. The baptism books set forth the name and village of origin of every native in the mission, as well as the date of baptism. Newly converted gentiles are readily distinguished from infants born in the mission itself, since the origin of the latter is ascribed to the mission and not to a village. In addition to the names of villages, not all of which can be located with certainty, the dates of baptism constitute almost conclusive evidence. If the baptisms from San Francisco and Santa Clara are tabulated by village and date, it is very clear that the villages of local tribes were cleaned out before the year 1805. At this point an entirely new set of names appears, most of which are undoubtedly in the Tulares. Hence, if the name of a village does not correspond to any now known to ethnographers and no baptisms are reported from it prior to 1805, the conclusion is warranted that the village was actually situated in the central valley. The same assumption may be made with somewhat less certainty concerning the San Jose records. This mission was founded in 1797 and its earliest converts were drawn from the Costanoan tribes on the east shore of San Fran-

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*161 As for the Pitemis, Viader, on his first expedition, left Pescadero on August 20, 1810, and traveled south-southeast at some distance from the river. Within 3 leagues he passed ". . . en frente de una rancheria . . . Aupemis." Schenck says (p. 141): "Pitemis is a village of the Leuchas and it seems that Aupimis is to be identified with it." This cannot be true because Viader is highly explicit to the effect that he was west of the river and Amador is equally emphatic in stating that Pitemis was across the San Joaquin from Leuchas, i.e., to the east of it. Since Viader's visit was in 1810, after the Cuevas affair, there must have been three rancherias of the Leuchas and their allies: Aupimis, Pitemis, and Coybos.

● 114 Parenthetically, and for the record, the present writer would like to offer the comment that certain modern writers tend to assert the identity of Spanish or Indian names without adequate evidence. Schenck's opinion that Aupimis and Pitemis were the same place could have been based upon no more than a fancied resemblance in the names. Also, on page 141 of his paper he says: "The Leuchas might possibly be identified with Kroeber's Lakisamni (Yokuts) on the Stanislaus river." A brief examination of the mission records, apart from any other evidence, shows conclusively that two separate and distinct tribes were recognized by the contemporary missionaries.

(Leuchas et al. ..... 900)

*161 Ochejamnes.—This tribe is placed by Schenck on the east bank of the Sacramento River near the mouth of the [13] Cosumnes. Kroeber refers to the village of Ochehak and considers it a "political community." He shows it on his map (1925, p. 446) as lying on the Mokelumne, due north of Stockton. Duran, in his diary, May 21 (MS, 1817), describes how he followed the main stream of the Sacramento, i.e., the left branch, on his way back from his stopping point above Courtland. He reached the rancheria "llamada de Oche jamnes," which, although it contained 40 houses, was deserted. Quite soon thereafter ("a poco rato") he reached "la punta de la isla llamada de los Quenemsias," which has been identified definitely as Grand Island. Clearly, therefore, in 1817 the Ochejamnes had a village on the Sacramento higher up the river than is shown by Schenck.

According to Duran the village had 40 houses, which would mean 360 persons without reckoning possible subsidiary rancherias. The name is mentioned for only one mission, San Jose, at which 428 Ochejamne, or Oocheganes, were baptized between 1829 and 1836. This is prima facie evidence that Duran, who saw them in 1817, was referring, as he implies, only to one rancheria and that the tribe was actually larger. This idea is supported by the account of José Berreyesa in 1830 of severe Indian [48] fighting in the delta (Berryesa, MS, 1830). The Ochejamnes and the Yunisumnes with certain American trappers were arrayed against the Californians, who had gathered together 450 auxiliary fighters from the Cosumnes and other tribes. No value is placed upon the number of Ochejamnes but it must have been considerable. It was probably as a result of this campaign that 428 members of the tribe were baptized at Mission San Jose. Even with a relatively complete conquest many of the natives must have escaped; hence in 1830 their total number must have reached 500. But this was in 1830, after a generation of expeditions and petty warfare. The aboriginal number must have been considerably greater, let us say 750.

(Ochejamnes ..... 750)

*161 Guaypem.—This group is thought by Schenck to have been simply a village but Merriam (1907, p. 350) re-
[131] gards them as a tribe called the Wipa, located on Sherman Island near the Sacramento River estuary. Duran in his diary says that Guaypens is 6 leagues south and southeast of the fork of the river below Courtland. Allowing for his usual exaggeration of distances, this puts the rancheria near the mouth of the Mokelumne, in the vicinity of Walnut Grove. He speaks of the rancheria "de los Guaypens" and saw only a few people. Thus neither size nor locality supports the contention that
[199] Guaypem was synonymous with Wipa. The tribe was not converted until relatively late, 41 converts being taken to San Jose between 1821 and 1824. By that time the tribe had been subject to severe attrition. Thus the evidence points to an aboriginal group consisting of one village of average size, or close to 300 inhabitants.

(Guaypem ..... 300)

Quenemsias.—These people, who lived near the two preceding tribes, are designated a "group" by Schenck
[131] (p. 136). They covered, according to him, "the southern part, or perhaps all, of Grand Island." The ecclesiastical diarists make no mention of them save the reference by Duran to the "isla llamada de los Quenemisias." One other citation is worth mentioning, however. In the Bancroft Transcripts is a document dated January 31, 1796, entitled "Informe en el cual el teniente Hermdo Sal manifesta lo que ha adquirido de varios sugetos para comunicarlo al Gobernador de la Provincia," which gives a description of the lower reaches of the San Joaquin and Sacramento rivers and the delta and mentions the natives (Sal, MS, 1796). In detail, the account is extremely inaccurate. However, one of the Indians ". . . dio noticia de las naciones Tulpunes, Quinensist, Taunantoc, y Quisitoc: los primeros son de la orilla del estero; los 2os estan del otro lado de los rios . . . ." Although no numerical data are given, the mention of the Quenemsias (Quinensist) as a "nacion" in the delta region establishes them as a group of more than average importance. The mission books show 185 Quenemsias baptized at Mission San Jose. Roughly double the number of baptisms may be taken as the aboriginal population, i.e., 400.

(Quenemsias ..... 400)

Chuppumne, Chucumes.—Schenck places these two settlements, which he calls villages, on the Sacramento River near the mouth of the Cosumnes. Most of our documentary information concerning them is derived from the accounts of Duran and of Luís Argüello. Luís Antonio Argüello accompanied Duran on his expedition and wrote a report to the governor in the form of a letter, dated May 28, 1817, the original of which is preserved in the Bancroft Library (library no. fm-F864A84; also typed copy). The existence of this letter evidently was not known to either Kroeber or Schenck. It is less complete and less detailed than the diary of Duran but it is of value in checking the statements made by the latter.

On May 16 the party reached the foot of Grand Island and on May 17 proceeded up the left-hand (i.e., western) watercourse. The village of Chucumes was found 8 leagues (leguas) upstream, according to Duran, 13 miles (millas) according to Argüello. The latter estimate is
[114] probably closer, since Duran is notoriously inaccurate (usually on the side of overestimate) in his computation of distances.

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*161 and 17 leagues north-northeast of San Jose. The rancheria of this name, he states, is now Christian, at San Francisco and San Jose. The mission books show a total of 105 baptisms at the two establishments.

It is reasonably plain that the Aguastos and the Chupunes occupied more or less the same territory—along the south shore of the eastern end of Carquinez Strait and the western end of Suisun Bay. The diaries and the baptism records both indicate that the original inhabitants were the Aguastos, who were missionized and removed. Their place seems to have been taken by another group of natives known as the Chupunes, who also were gathered into the fold at some period between the visits of Abella and Duran. Subsequent to the 1817 diary of Duran there is no further mention of this tribe. With respect to population we have only the record showing 105 baptisms. Since the conversion seems to have been quite complete, we may set the aboriginal value at no more than 150.

Let us now consider the Ompines. This group is placed by Schenck on the north bank of the Sacramento River at and above the junction of the river and Suisun Bay. Schenck also (p. 137) discusses the possibility that the Ompines and Julpunes composed a single group. In spite of an assumed similarity in names the Spanish [114] accounts are unequivocally explicit to the effect that there were two groups, not one, hence Schenck's hypothesis may be disregarded. With respect to location the later Spanish accounts bear out Schenck's contention that the tribe was situated north of the river.

In his entry for May 14, 1817, Duran says that his expedition stopped at the mouth of the San Joaquin River, whereas another boat (that of Argüello) stopped opposite "en tierra de Ompines." The next day they all went up the Sacramento River to the "remate de las lomas de los Ompines." Meanwhile Argüello, in his entry for May 15, says that they went along the north shore and stopped "donde termina la tierra de los Ompines." This puts the eastern edge of the Ompines at the east side of the Montezuma Hills in T3N, R2E, approximately as shown by Schenck. Altimira describes an unauthorized raid by Fr. Duran on the tribes north of Suisun Bay, among them ". . . otra rancheria aislada llamada los Ompines" (Altimira, MS, 1823).

A few of the earlier documents, on the other hand, contain statements which raise the possibility that the Ompines were not always confined exclusively to the north shore. In his diary of 1811 Abella describes how, on October 17, his party entered a big bay (Suisun Bay) and, after 5 leagues, following along the south shore, began to find estuaries and numerous islands covered with tules. They continued into the west channel of the San Joaquin and stopped at an island on which large trees were growing. At this point, somewhere near [341] Antioch, there was a "pescadero" of the Ompines. It is [226] evident, therefore, that in 1811 the Ompines had at least temporary fishing spots on the south side of the estuary, in an area usually ascribed to the Julpunes or Tarquines.

[997] The San Jose baptism book shows the conversion of 108 Ompines. Those from San Rafael and Solano do not mention the tribe. The fact that a tribe situated north of Suisun Bay does not appear in the records of either of these missions is noteworthy, since during the 1820's and 1830's the north-bay groups were brought to them in large numbers, and since we know from Altimira's comment on Duran's raid that the Ompines were still in existence in 1823. Furthermore, the Ompines must have constituted more than a single small village, for

*161 Argüello and Duran both refer to the "tierra" of the Ompines. The hypothesis is possible, although admittedly there is no real proof, that the Ompines may have originally occupied the sloughs and islands at and above Antioch, that they may have been pushed north at an early date by Spanish intrusion from the south and west, and that they may have been further dispersed, or exterminated without extensive conversion, prior to 1830. If such a theory in any way represents the course of their decline and disappearance, then it also follows that the aboriginal population was considerably greater than the baptism number would lead one to suppose.

*161 To turn now to the Julpunes, there seems to be little
131 difference of opinion regarding their original location. This was as Schenck pictures it: the south shore of the San Joaquin estuary from Antioch to the line between R3E and R4E. The "Informe" of Hermengildo Sal, written in 1796 and previously referred to, specifies the "Tulpunes" as a "nacion" living on the "orilla del estero." Fourteen years later in 1810 Viader went 7 leagues from Pittsburg to the "old river" west of Stockton. He was: ". . . esta tierra es de los Tulpunes." Duran, May 24, 1817, on his return journey downstream reached the region of the Julpunes at 8:00 A.M. and joined the other boat at 6:00 P.M. of the same day at Carquinez Strait.

Schenck (1926, p. 137) points out that Kotzebue, who was in the area in 1823, implies that the Julpunes were living on the north bank. Merriam (1907, p. 348), says that the Hulpoomne "occupied the east bank of the Sacramento River from a few miles south of the mouth of American river southward . . . ." Schenck's explanation of the discrepancy appears to the present writer entirely sound: the Julpunes retired across the estuary to the north bank and then upstream nearly to Sacramento. In so doing they may very well have carried the surviving Ompines with them. The San Jose record lists 148 baptisms of Julpunes but the name is absent from the records of San Francisco, Santa Clara, San Rafael, and Solano missions. Along with the Ompines the Julpunes must have escaped the active proselyting effort of San Rafael, and particularly Solano, between 1824 and 1834, by a rapid retirement so far up the river as to elude the parties sent out from the missions. The converts at San Jose must have been captured by the Viader, Duran, Argüello, and similar expeditions before the migration upstream.

*161 The Tarquines are claimed by Schenck to have been
● 114 ". . . a single group. It seems to have stretched from
[131] east to west entirely across the marsh area between the main channels of the Sacramento and San Joaquin rivers, and then to have extended along the southern shore of Suisun Bay" (pp. 134-136). Schenck's belief in this remarkable distribution is based upon three documentary references (at least he cites no more than these three in his tabulation on p. 135).

The first of the three documents, chronologically, is the first expedition of Viader, in 1810. In his entry for August 17 Viader says that, having spent the preceding night near the present location of Pittsburg, he reconnoitred these lands which ". . . son de los Tarquines, que lo mas, 6 casi todos son Cristianos de San Francisco." After noting the mouths of the two rivers, he goes on to mention a spot on the estuary ". . . en donde dicen estaba la rancheria de los Tarquines" (emphasis mine). Let it be emphasized that in 1810 the Tarquines are almost all Christians in San Francisco, and Viader saw there the rancheria which was, or had been, that of the Tarquines. The San Francisco baptism book shows 18 "Talquines" converted in 1801 and 63 more in 1802, making a total of 83. This number could well be the

*161 majority, or almost all, the inhabitants of a moderate-
114 sized rancheria. Schenck is therefore technically correct in placing the tribe on the south shore of the eastern end of Suisun Bay.

The second document is the diary of Abella in 1811. On October 25, in the course of the return trip downstream, some distance below the junction of the channels of the San Joaquin, he found a rancheria of the Tauquimenes, one part of each side of the river, which was 30 to 40 varas wide. This point was apparently at or near the head of Sherman Island. The rancheria had 60 houses. He saw 200 warriors. He then crossed through the sloughs to the Sacramento River and on or opposite Sherman Island saw one rancheria of 14 houses and several of 2 to 3 houses. He says that all they passed this day was ". . . parte de una isla" (i.e., Sherman Island). Furthermore

> . . . en todo este dia andubimos como unas 12 leguas [overestimate] y podra haver gente, como 200 almas, todavia puede que haiga mas, porque en la primera [rancheria] habraumas 1,000, segun lo grande que por aqui son las casas, tienen un circuito de 28 o 30 varas, con su orcon en medio . . .

This account deserves comment on several grounds: with relation to Viader's visit of the previous year and the baptisms at San Francisco it is evident that whereas the southern extension of the Tarquines' habitat, whatever its size, had been swept clear prior to 1810, nevertheless the tribe persisted on the estuarine islands in truly large numbers. Moreover, since there is evidence of no more than one rancheria on the south shore, it
[131] appears that the territory in that region allotted by Schenck to the tribe is too large and should be restricted to a small area of the southeastern corner of Suisun Bay.

With respect to population, Abella's figures are quite credible. It has been suggested that one of the huge houses found in this region could accommodate 9 persons without difficulty. Then the large village should have had 540 inhabitants. Allowing 24 houses for the other villages seen, 216 persons should be added, making a total of 756, a figure not far from Abella's guess of 1,000.

The final reference to the tribe occurs in the diary of Duran. During the night of May 22-23, 1817, he went up the main channel of the San Joaquin, in T3N, R4E, and passed the Tauquimenes on the left, that is to say, on the east bank. Schenck thinks that the group covered the entire strip from Pittsburg to the east bank of the main river contemporaneously. Now it has been pointed out as probable that the southwestern outliers were missionized, or pushed back into the swamps, as early as 1801. It is equally possible that the island communities described by Abella in 1811 were pushed, in the next five or six years, off the islands altogether and clear back eastward to the far bank of the main river. Of considerable significance is the fact that whereas both Viader and Abella mention the Tarquines as being in the estuary region, Duran, who covered this area thoroughly, is completely silent with regard to their presence. It is highly unlikely that, had there been any of the tribe left in their former habitat, he would have failed to note them.

*161 The details are very obscure but the main outlines of events in the first three decades of the nineteenth century can be perceived. Aboriginally and perhaps till nearly 1800, there was a dense population of natives extending from Port Costa along the southern shore of Suisun Bay and up the rivers for fifteen miles beyond

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*161 From the data presented in detail in the last section we may now derive the aboriginal population of the San Joaquin Valley as a whole.

Region			Population
Tulare Lake Basin			6,500
Kaweah River			7,600
Merced River			3,500
Kings River			9,100
Mariposa, Fresno, Chowchilla, upper San Joaquin			19,000
Southern San Joaquin Valley			6,900
Northern San Joaquin Valley			
	Delta area	9,350	
	Lower Cosumnes	5,200	
	Lower Mokelumne	5,720	
	Lower San Joaquin, Calaveras, Tuolumne, and Stanislaus	6,800	27,070
Foothill strip (central and northern Miwok			4,150
Total			83,820

The total, 83,820, is more than four times as large as the population estimated to be surviving in 1850 (19,000) and much exceeds any previous estimate advanced by modern students of the California Indians.

*161 ●119 Dr. C. Hart Merriam in 1905 computed the population of the entire state of California as 260,000, of whom perhaps one-fifth may have occupied the San Joaquin Valley, although Merriam does not attempt to assess the population of this area as such. Kroeber discusses the matter at length in the Handbook (pp. 488-491, 880-891) and concludes that the population of the

[P.110B]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

*16 ● 114 whole state was 133,000. Of these the Yokuts had 18,000, the Miwok (Plains and Sierra) 9,000, the Western Mono about 1,000, and the peripheral tribes in the south perhaps 2,000, a total of 30,000. Schenck is more liberal, since for the delta region he allows for a spread of between 3,000 and 15,000 persons. The present estimate for the same area, as closely as it can be determined, is in the vicinity of 13,000, or within Schenck's limits although toward his upper extreme.

Since the data and reasoning upon which the present figure of 83,820 is based are set forth in detail in the preceding pages there is little value in repeating them, nor will anything be gained by attempting a rebuttal to the arguments presented by Kroeber. At the same time the author may be permitted to recapitulate three points wherein he thinks many modern scholars have been misled.

1. All available information from the Spanish and Mexican sources must be consulted. To confine an argument or an estimate to a single account, such as that by Moraga, may lead to a false impression. Kroeber seems to have been thus deceived in his discussion of the population of the Yokuts.

2. It must be remembered that in the central valley, as contrasted perhaps with an area like the Klamath River, no informants speaking since 1900, and particularly since 1920, can possibly have furnished a true picture of conditions prior to the Spanish invasion in the decade following 1800.

3. The depletion of population in the San Joaquin Valley between 1800 and 1850 was far greater than has been appreciated, although the basic facts have always been recognized. Warfare, massacre, forced conversion, starvation, and exposure all took a tremendous [731] toll of life but the sweeping epidemics of the 1830's were even more devastating. Together these forces destroyed in the aggregate fully 75 per cent of the aboriginal population.

NOTES

(1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]

(2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Yaohi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114 126 104 [115]

ɐ= lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
ö higher-mid rounded front vowel
ə higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "out". Typewritten "?" indicates a glottal stop.

(3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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PREFACE

114 Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

128 The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a 127 number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for [126] comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

114 In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of [177 Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Sho- 184] shonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

121 Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

1 [ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

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121 [1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of 122 Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

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195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 121 It is not that phase of style which concerns itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no less restrained than the grammatical style of [182 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought pro- 195 cesses, habituated to precise grammatical forms, 153] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths ● [114] in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

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538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all directions. Falcon's abstention from food, his eat-

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● 114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
171 ized by Kroeber[14] in his pioneer work with Yokuts
538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This area, as defined by Gayton,[15] is somewhat smaller than the Central California area of tales determined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt coincided with the Central California culture area as conceived by him at that time. That Yokuts should set the norm for the central area is in part due to the extensive territory which the
[197] Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to be forgotten that the peripheries of the area are virtually within the bounds of the parental Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts. Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east, and Tübatulabal to the southeast, possess transitional phases of the Central Californian mythology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves into birds and animals. The concept of such a period and people is basic to all western North American Indian mythologic and religious beliefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the Southwest. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their myths were ever ordered in that "system and sequence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.[16] For us, with our supernormal historical sense, it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any other than a pseudochronological order. And I am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
773 feel that the creation tales should come first,
115 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
538 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

[136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rearing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its domain, and fearing neither beast that walks nor bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

[13] Although "character study" is rarely the object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth (Gifford, MM:323) which seems to have no other purpose than the vivid description of a number of animals. It is superbly done.

[14] Indian Myths of South Central California, pp. 192-194, 195-198.

[15] Areal Affiliations of California Folktales, p. 595.

[16] System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

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